

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

**FILE NUMBER: 100-106670**

**SUB - A FILE**

**SECTION:15**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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Martin Luther King Jr.

SUB - A FILE

100 - 106670

SECTION 15

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NO85

RW

KING-FBI

BY ROBERT PARRY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5-16-80 BY SP1-GSK-DB

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*no civil  
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 pending  
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WASHINGTON (AP) -- THE WIDOW OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. SAID TODAY THAT THE FAMILY OF THE SLAIN CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER IS SEEKING REPARATIONS FROM THE GOVERNMENT FOR FBI ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT KING. CORETTA SCOTT KING TOLD THE SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE THAT "THROUGH A PRIVATE ATTORNEY, WE HAVE EXPLORED THE POSSIBILITY OF REPARATIONS TO OUR FAMILY."

MRS. KING SAID, HOWEVER, SHE HAS CHOSEN NOT TO "PRESS CHARGES OR FILE SUIT" AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT BECAUSE SHE FELT SUCH A COURT CASE WOULD NOT BE "PART OF THE THEORY OF NON-VIOLENCE AND RECONCILIATION."

LATER, MRS. KING TOLD REPORTERS THAT ANY MONEY THAT WOULD BE OBTAINED AS REPARATIONS FOR FBI HARASSMENT OF KING WOULD BE USED AS ENDOWMENTS TO THE MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. FOUNDATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE IN ATLANTA.

HOWEVER, SHE DECLINED TO DIVULGE HOW MUCH MONEY WAS BEING REQUESTED OR DISCUSS OTHER DETAILS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. *100-106670-A*

ASKED HOW ATTORNEY GENERAL BENJAMIN CIVILETTI COULD ARRANGE SUCH A PAYMENT OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS IN THE ABSENCE OF A COURT SUIT, MRS. KING RESPONDED, "IF HE'S CREATIVE, I THINK HE COULD DO THAT."

SUCH A PAYMENT APPARENTLY WOULD REQUIRE AN ACT OF CONGRESS.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND FBI OFFICIALS HAD NO IMMEDIATE COMMENT.

ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT FILES AND STATEMENTS BY FORMER FBI OFFICIALS, THE BUREAU CONDUCTED A SECRET CAMPAIGN INTENDED TO DISCREDIT KING DURING THE 1960s.

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BEGINNING IN JANUARY 1964, THE FBI BUGGED HOTEL ROOMS WHERE KING WAS STAYING. TAPES IMPLICATING KING IN APPARENT EXTRAMARITAL SEXUAL ACTIVITY WERE MADE AVAILABLE TO REPORTERS, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND THEN-PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON. A PACKAGE OF THE TAPES WAS ALSO SENT ANONYMOUSLY TO MRS. KING.

MRS. KING TOLD THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE THAT A PROPOSED FBI CHARTER SETTING GUIDELINES ON THE BUREAU'S ACTIVITIES SHOULD INCLUDE "STRONG CIVIL REMEDIES" TO CITIZENS HARMED BY FBI ABUSES.

"THE FBI HAS, IN THE PAST, GROSSLY MISUSED ITS POWER," MRS. KING SAID. "MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. WAS THE TARGET OF THE MOST INTENSE EFFORT TO SUPPRESS POLITICAL BELIEFS AND FREE EXPRESSION THAT WAS EVER DIRECTED AGAINST ANY AMERICAN."

MRS. KING SAID THE FBI SUBJECTED KING AND OTHER BLACK LEADERS TO "LONG HARD YEARS OF HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING...SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY WERE COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO STAND UP FOR EQUALITY AND JUSTICE. ...

"YOU SHOULD REMEMBER THAT EVEN THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL RULES OF HUMAN DECENCY CAN BE VIOLATED. THIS HAS BEEN CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED BY THE FBI."

REFERRING TO THE FBI'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST KING, SHE ADDED: "THERE HAVE BEEN DAMAGES PARTICULARLY WHERE MY CHILDREN ARE CONCERNED...THIS IS A VERY DIFFICULT THING FOR MY CHILDREN."

SHE ALSO DEFENDED HER LATE HUSBAND AS A "MORAL LEADER, A VERY DECENT MAN, AND A VERY EXCELLENT FATHER AND HUSBAND." SHE ADDED: "I THINK HISTORY WILL VINDICATE MARTIN LUTHER KING JR."

THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE IS CONSIDERING A PROPOSED FBI CHARTER THAT ITS SPONSORS CLAIM WOULD DEFINE AND LIMIT THE AUTHORITY OF THE FBI SO AS TO ENABLE IT TO INVESTIGATE CRIME WHILE PRESERVING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- Telephone Rm. \_\_\_\_\_
- Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

# FBI Tap Data On King to Go To Archives

By Timothy S. Robinson  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A federal judge yesterday ordered the FBI to file with the National archives all of its tapes and documents growing out of buggings and wiretaps of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.

The materials cannot be made public for at least 50 years, except by court order, according to the ruling.

U. S. District Court Judge John Lewis Smith Jr. issued the order in dismissing two civil suits filed against the FBI by Bernard S. Lee, a former assistant to King, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which King headed until his assassination in April, 1968.

The suits sought money damages from the FBI for the buggings. They alleged the FBI secretly recorded King's conversations in a Willard Hotel room here in 1963 and sent a copy of the tape to Mrs. King, as well as bugging other conversations.

In addition, the suits claimed copies of those recordings and others were played for members of the news media as part of an attempt to discredit King.

Judge Smith dismissed the suit because they were not filed within the three-year statute of limitations.

The last reported bugging had occurred in 1968, and Smith said numerous newspapers had carried reports about the buggings beginning early the next year. The suit was not filed until after the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence made its official report on the incidents in 1975.

The Senate committee found that the FBI had installed 15 bugs in King's hotel rooms and that one tape recording was mailed to King shortly before he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964. Accompanying the tape was a letter saying, "Your end is approaching . . . you are finished."

King's associates interpreted the message as an effort to induce the civil rights leader to commit suicide.

Attorneys for Lee and the SCLC said in court papers that they did not file the suit earlier based on the newspaper reports because "in all candor, who would have believed in those pre-Watergate days, the nation's gangbusters would have been involved in the kind of nonsense alleged here?"

Smith's order impounding the FBI records of the King buggings specifically includes all tapes, transcripts and logs concerning any such surveillances of King in Atlanta, New York, or any hotels, or motels in which he stayed between 1963 and 1968.

The FBI must provide the judge an inventory of the materials within 90 days and provide the material to the National Archives in that time.

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- The Washington Post A-5
- Washington Star-News \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
- The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_
- The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_
- The Los Angeles Times \_\_\_\_\_

Date Tues. 2/1/77

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Investigation Enters New Phase

# FBI Files in King Case Reopened

MEMPHIS, June 15 (AP) — Five Justice Department attorneys have reopened the FBI's Martin Luther King Jr. files in Memphis, entering another phase of their renewed inquiry into the civil rights leader's murder.

The latest investigation into the killing of King began seven weeks ago at the request of a Senate committee headed by Frank Church (D-Idaho).

"We plan to spend several months looking at the case from every angle and in light of what appears to be the [FBI's] 15- or 16-year harassment of King, as disclosed by the Church committee," said Michael Sha-

heen, 25, head of the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility.

Shaheen said Monday that the inquiry will be "exhaustive," covering circumstances of the 1968 murder as King stood on a motel balcony in Memphis, various murder conspiracy theories and the FBI's harassment of King and later investigation of his death.

James Earl Ray, the convicted killer of King, is serving a 99-year sentence at the state prison in Nashville. However, Ray has said he was coerced into pleading guilty to the King slaying and has been seeking a new trial.

Shaheen said he and his team will spend about three weeks in Memphis and, eventually, will check every King file in all 59 FBI field office in the country.

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- Director's Sec'y

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- The Washington Post
- Washington Star-News
- Daily News (New York)
- The New York Times
- The Wall Street Journal
- The National Observer
- The Los Angeles Times

Date 6/16/76

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# More FBI Double Dealing

While the late J. Edgar Hoover was directing agents of his Federal Bureau of Investigation to smear and ruin private citizens he didn't like, he was being deluded within his own headquarters, we now learn, by deceitful reports from assistants who apparently told the director what he wanted to hear.

Not only was Hoover dangerously misusing the federal police powers, he was being fed false and obsequious information on which to base his reprehensible acts.

That double danger surfaced last

*The writer is editor and president of the St. Petersburg Times from which this article is reprinted.*

week when a staff study was released on the Senate investigation into FBI spying on American citizens in Hoover's time.

The study contained a memo from William Sullivan, Hoover's deputy, to Hoover. This writer has personal knowledge that the information Sullivan fed his superior was false.

Sullivan told Hoover in 1965 that the late Atlanta Constitution publisher Ralph McGill said and did certain dishonorable things which I know he did not say or do.

My office, as editor of The Constitution at that time, adjoined McGill's. As close personal friends and professional running mates we talked repeatedly every day, lunched together, shared our problems and sought each other's advice. We were inseparable, in almost constant contact, and during our 12 years together I never knew him to tell me an untruth or deceive me on his thinking.

Nothing disturbed us more during that stressful time of Southern desegregation than our separate discoveries, which we immediately shared, that FBI agents were spying on the personal life of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Our knowledge was firsthand. Agents of the Atlanta FBI bureau visited us in our offices and alleged they had proof of Dr. King's involvement in extra-martial affairs. In my case an agent, on two separate visits, insisted strenuously that I assign a

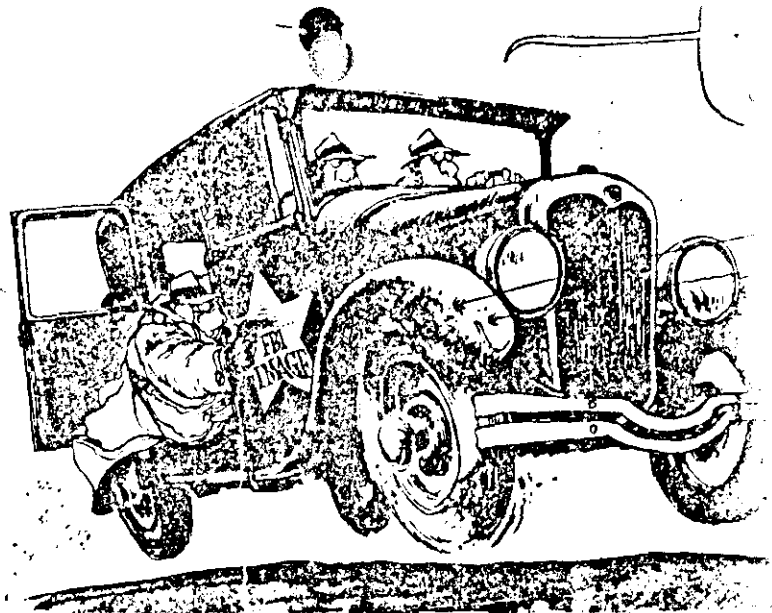
reporter and photographer to catch Dr. King and his companion at an airport where an FBI "informant" (meaning bug) said he was going to board a plane at the coming weekend. When I tried to explain we did not publish a peephole journal, and told the agent a person's private life is not news, he hotly criticized The Constitution for supporting Dr. King's public leadership and blinding its readers to his private "immorality." Other Southern newspapers received similar visits and to the press's credit not one printed the FBI's smears to Dr. King's lifetime.

McGill and I were astonished and outraged that our friends in the FBI Atlanta bureau had been assigned, obviously by Hoover, to such a dirty business as character assassination, and by these sleazy means.

Ralph McGill could muster a towering anger and I never saw him madder. His first impulse was to get word to Dr. King so he could protect himself. He picked up the telephone to pass the information to Dr. King's father but I dissuaded him from upsetting Dr. King Sr. by spreading the FBI's smear around the family.

He spoke of getting in touch instead with Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy to let him know what the FBI was up to. I don't know if he reached Kennedy personally. I personally told this story to John Doar, one of Kennedy's assistants, and was appalled when I got no reaction from him, not even an indication he had heard what I said (and we were speaking face to face). I realized then that Hoover either was beyond Kennedy's control, or else Kennedy knew what Hoover was doing. McGill and I traded disappointed exclamations over this.

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civil rights movement more strongly than ever.

But Sullivan's memo to Hoover claimed that McGill was so shocked by the FBI's information on Dr. King's private life that he stated he would use his influence to get Dr. King out of the leadership of the civil rights movement! That must have been music to Hoover's ears, encouraging him to press on with his bugs and taps on Dr. King's bedroom. The problem is, it just wasn't so. McGill's shock was directed at the FBI, and his support went to Dr. King. He'd have been the last man in the world to desert King in these circumstances.

Worse, Sullivan's memo went on to regale Hoover with the notion that McGill would attempt to block an Atlanta banquet scheduled to honor Dr. King after he won the Nobel Prize. McGill would work through a banker friend to get the business community to withdraw its support for the banquet, Hoover was told by Sullivan.

That fabrication is a laugher for one who was there, as I was. There wasn't any business community support.

The fact is that McGill was the only white business or professional leader in Atlanta who stepped forward to co-sponsor the banquet, in conjunction with a Catholic bishop and a Jewish rabbi, while the bankers and businessmen of that city ran for cover. In conversations with me McGill alternately raged and laughed at the spectacle of Atlanta's white establishment being too timid or too segregationist to even send second vice presidents to the banquet honoring a black Nobel Prize winner.

While Hoover enjoyed Sullivan-inspired visions of the great liberal newspaper publisher warning an eager business establishment, away from the King banquet, I watched

McGill work his way around the boycotting businessmen to the holders of real power in Atlanta, whom he persuaded to bring their influence and pressure to bear on the bankers to support the King banquet. At a very late hour the banquet was saved from being a lonely gathering of black people and a few white humanists by an inpouring of second vice presidents, and even some firsts, because the word had been passed from on high as a result of McGill's single-handed exertions.

I had thought the finest irony of that banquet was the praise Time magazine later lavished on Atlanta because the white establishment had honored a black son, the kind of national publicity that brought a boom to that once sleepy town.

But now the Senate investigating staff has disclosed the true irony. Hoover thought McGill was trying to sabotage the banquet, because his agents had told him so.

The implication speaks for itself. An autocratic FBI director, armed with the public's trust and secure from a cowed Congress, could misuse his power to stalk and smear any American citizen of his choosing including you or me. And probably because he wanted only good news, he got demonstrably false intelligence upon which to base his whims. Frightening?

Consider the footnote: The agent who failed to persuade me to smear Dr. King in The Atlanta Constitution got a harsh Hoover letter and an overnight transfer to a distant city not long after he failed to come up with clippings that would have pleased Hoover. I saw the letter. It said the agent was being punished for being six pounds overweight.

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# The FBI and

SAN FRANCISCO—I read with interest Associate Editor Bill Shipp's Sunday column May 9 on "The Rubber-Hosing of the FBI." However, it is regrettable that he failed to mention the three prime movers of the Atlanta civic banquet honoring the late Martin Luther King—after he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Coca-Cola's Robert Woodruff was a late and reluctant starter.

The three men most responsible for the banquet were former Mayor Ivan Allen, the late Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan, and the late Rabbi Jacob Rothschild. They were the original organizers who went ahead with the banquet planning, despite pressures from the FBI.

Several weeks before the banquet, as editor of The Georgia Bulletin, I was visited by a bureau agent concerning alleged extra-marital sexual activities by Dr. King. I was urged not to let the Archdiocesan newspaper be party to the sponsoring of the banquet. One quote of the FBI agent stood out:

"The Church should be very careful about honoring such a man, for you will only regret it when all the facts come out."

I told the agent that he would have to come up with more than an innuendo, and refused to drop the sponsorship.

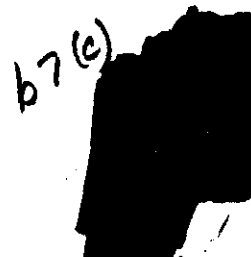
Several days later, the agent visited the Archbishop, who was seriously ill in St. Joseph's Hospital. I saw the Archbishop after the visit, and he was very upset at the FBI tactics. He told me he had refused the FBI suggestion that he back out as a prime sponsor of the banquet. And to show his support for Dr. King, he left his sick-bed to attend the banquet.

Contrary to what Mr. Shipp says, the above information cannot be found in "old newspaper clippings."

GERARD E. SHERRY  
Editor-Manager  
The Monitor

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 5-1  
THE  
ATLANTA CONSTITUTION  
Atlanta, Georgia



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Date: 5-31-76  
Edition: Morning  
Author: Gerard Sherry  
Editor: Hal Gulliver  
Title: SENSTUDY 75

Character:  
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Classification: 62-2854  
Submitting Office: ATLANTA  
 Being Investigated

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**Other Voices/Eugene Patterson**

**Sweet Lies Soothe Hoover**

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** Eugene Patterson is president and editor of The St. Petersburg Times, where this column originally appeared. He was editor of The Atlanta Constitution 1960-1968.

While the late J. Edgar Hoover was directing agents of his Federal Bureau of Investigation to smear and ruin private citizens he didn't like, he was being deluded within his own headquarters, we now learn, by deceitful reports from assistants who apparently told the director what he wanted to hear.



Not only was Hoover dangerously misusing the federal police powers, he was being fed false and obsequious information on which to base his reprehensible acts.

That double danger surfaced last week when a staff study was released on the Senate investigation into FBI spying on American citizens in Hoover's time.

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Page 5-A  
 THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION  
 Atlanta, Georgia

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Date: 5-31-76  
 Edition: Morning  
 Author: Eugene Patterson  
 Editor: Hal Gulliver  
 Title: SENSTUDY 75

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 Classification: 62-299  
 Submitting Office: ATLANTA

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*The writer is editor and president of the St. Petersburg Times from which this article is reprinted.*

week when a staff study was released on the Senate investigation into FBI spying on American citizens in Hoover's time.

The study contained a memo from William Sullivan, Hoover's deputy, to Hoover. This writer has personal knowledge that the information Sullivan fed his superior was false.

Sullivan told Hoover in 1965 that the late Atlanta Constitution publisher Ralph McGill said and did certain dishonorable things which I know he did not say or do.

My office, as editor of The Constitution at that time, adjoined McGill's. As close personal friends and professional running mates we talked repeatedly every day, lunched together, shared our problems and sought each other's advice. We were inseparable, in almost constant contact, and during our 12 years together I never knew him to tell me an untruth or deceive me on his thinking.

Nothing disturbed us more during that stressful time of Southern desegregation than our separate discoveries, which we immediately shared, that FBI agents were spying on the personal life of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Our knowledge was firsthand. Agents of the Atlanta FBI bureau visited us in our offices and alleged they had proof of Dr. King's involvement in extra-martial affairs. In my case an agent, on two separate visits, insisted strenuously that I assign a

Dr. King and his companion at a report where an FBI "informant" (meaning bug) said he was going to board a plane at the coming weekend. When I tried to explain we did not publish a peephole journal, and told the agent a person's private life is not news, he hotly criticized The Constitution for supporting Dr. King's public leadership and blinding its readers to his private "immorality." Other Southern newspapers received similar visits and to the press's credit not one printed the FBI's smears to Dr. King's lifetime.

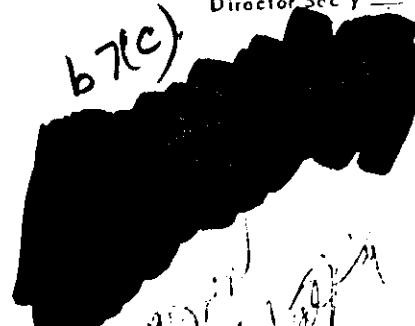
McGill and I were astonished and outraged that our friends in the FBI Atlanta bureau had been assigned, obviously by Hoover, to such a dirty business as character assassination, and by these sleazy means.

Ralph McGill could muster a towering anger and I never saw him madder. His first impulse was to get word to Dr. King so he could protect himself. He picked up the telephone to pass the information to Dr. King's father but I dissuaded him from upsetting Dr. King Sr. by spreading the FBI's smear around the family.

He spoke of getting in touch instead with Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy to let him know what the FBI was up to. I don't know if he reached Kennedy personally. I personally told this story to John Doar, one of Kennedy's assistants, and was appalled when I got no reaction from him, not even an indication he had heard what I said (and we were speaking face to face). I realized then that Hoover either was beyond Kennedy's control, or else Kennedy knew what Hoover was doing. McGill and I traded disappointed exclamations over this.

Thereafter McGill's columns supported Dr. King's leadership of the

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civil rights movement more strongly than ever.

But Sullivan's memo to Hoover claimed that McGill was so shocked by the FBI's information on Dr. King's private life that he stated he would use his influence to get Dr. King out of the leadership of the civil rights movement! That must have been music to Hoover's ears, encouraging him to press on with his bugs and taps on Dr. King's bedroom. The problem is, it just wasn't so. McGill's shock was directed at the FBI, and his support went to Dr. King. He'd have been the last man in the world to desert King in these circumstances.

Worse, Sullivan's memo went on to regale Hoover with the notion that McGill would attempt to block an Atlanta banquet scheduled to honor Dr. King after he won the Nobel Prize. McGill would work through a banker friend to get the business community to withdraw its support for the banquet, Hoover was told by Sullivan.

That fabrication is a laugher for one who was there, as I was. There wasn't any business community support.

The fact is that McGill was the only white business or professional leader in Atlanta who stepped forward to co-sponsor the banquet, in conjunction with a Catholic bishop and a Jewish rabbi, while the bankers and businessmen of that city ran for cover. In conversations with me McGill alternately raged and laughed at the spectacle of Atlanta's white establishment being too timid or too segregationist to even send second vice presidents to the banquet honoring a black Nobel Prize winner.

While Hoover enjoyed Sullivan-inspired visions of the great liberal newspaper publisher warning an eager business establishment, away from the King banquet, I watched

McGill work his way around the boycotting businessmen to the holders of real power in Atlanta, whom he persuaded to bring their influence and pressure to bear on the bankers to support the King banquet. At a very late hour the banquet was saved from being a lonely gathering of black people and a few white humanists by an inpouring of second vice presidents, and even some firsts, because the word had been passed from on high as a result of McGill's single-handed exertions.

I had thought the finest irony of that banquet was the praise Time magazine later lavished on Atlanta because the white establishment had honored a black son, the kind of national publicity that brought a boom to that once sleepy town.

But now the Senate investigating staff has disclosed the true irony. Hoover thought McGill was trying to sabotage the banquet, because his agents had told him so.

The implication speaks for itself. An autocratic FBI director, armed with the public's trust and secure from a cowed Congress, could misuse his power to stalk and smear any American citizen of his choosing including you or me. And probably because he wanted only good news, he got demonstrably false intelligence upon which to base his whims. Frightening?

Consider the footnote: The agent who failed to persuade me to smear Dr. King in The Atlanta Constitution got a harsh Hoover letter and an overnight transfer to a distant city not long after he failed to come up with clippings that would have pleased Hoover. I saw the letter. It said the agent was being punished for being six pounds overweight.

# IRS Gave FBI Names of Secret SCLC Contributors

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND  
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — When the FBI was looking for ways to undermine the civil rights work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) helped out by revealing the names of people who had contributed secretly to King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), according to a Senate staff report released Tuesday.

The IRS had the names because the SCLC is a tax-exempt organization required by law to file a list of its contributors. But the list is a confidential one, so that persons may contribute to SCLC or similar organizations without making their support public.

Giving the FBI access to the names of donors to SCLC and other organizations "has threatened both the integrity of the tax system and the constitutional rights of the contributors," the Senate Intelligence Committee staff report charges.

"The identity of members of organizations such as the SCLC is privileged to protect members in their right to freedom of association," the committee staffers wrote.

The FBI's plans to use the list of names in efforts to disrupt SCLC "constitute a direct attack on the very interest which the right to anonymity protects," according to the report. The bureau's plans were "a purpose for which the FBI could not have obtained a list of SCLC contributors from any court."

According to the Intelligence Committee, the FBI obtained from the IRS "all available information" about both

King and the SCLC in 1964. On April 1, 1964, the Atlanta field office suggested in a memo to FBI headquarters in Washington that the SCLC donor list be used in a plan to disrupt future contributions to the organization.

What the FBI should do, the Atlanta office suggested, was to forge letters from King to each of the donors, warning the donors that the IRS was investigating SCLC's tax records and reassuring each one that his contribution was properly reported according to tax law requirements.

"It is believed such a letter of this type from SCLC (to the donors) may cause considerable concern and eliminate future contributions," the FBI memo stated.

FBI officials in Washington rejected the suggestion as "not appearing desirable and-or feasible for direct action by the bureau this time."

However, the committee report states, the fact that the FBI didn't go through with the plan "does not affect the basic point that FBI headquarters furnished the tax information, including the list of contributors, to the local office in order to enable the local office to devise disruptive action."

The report says FBI policy as applied in other similar cases "makes it clear that the suggestion was not rejected because of concern for the legality of using the contributor list" for the purpose of disrupting the organization.

Committee research into the FBI activities has turned up other instances in which the FBI attempted to use financial information to discredit King or hamper his activities.

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The bureau in 1964 reviewed five years' worth of tax returns for King, the SCLS, and the Gandhi Society (a group that the FBI said "augmented" SCLC's fundraising activities).

FBI agents also obtained a promise from IRS to scrutinize King's then-current returns "very carefully to determine whether any violations appear."

In 1965, the FBI launched an investigation aimed at proving that King held large amounts of money in a numbered Swiss bank account. That plan was conceived during a golf game, when an acquaintance of the FBI supervisor of the King case mentioned that he'd heard King had a million-dollar bank account overseas.

With the approval of former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, a search for that bank account was undertaken. By

December, 1965, that investigation was described by Hoover as "the most important presently pending" portion of the FBI's activities against King.

Shortly after that, however, the investigation was dropped when the original source of the rumor told the FBI that the existence of the bank account "was merely a wild conclusion."

Fifth District Rep. Andrew Young told the committee that contributions to SCLC were "chilled" by the FBI's allegations about the bank account.

"There were direct attempts at some of our larger contributors who told us that they had been told by agents that Martin had a Swiss bank account, or that Martin had confiscated some of the monies from the march on Washington for his personal use. None of that was true," Young testified.

William Safire

# Watergate and the Attorneys

## General

WASHINGTON — "Everybody did it" is no excuse for wrongdoing, but the Church committee reports demonstrate conclusively that the seeds of Watergate were planted and nourished in two Democratic administrations.



Using the Senate committee's findings, let us observe a trio of Attorneys

General at their individual moments of truth.

1. Nicholas Katzenbach and the bugging of hotel rooms of Martin Luther King. The unlawful harassment of Dr. King was the worst abuse of federal power against an individual in our history; Atty. Gen. Katzenbach knew about it, was warned about it, had the power to stop it — but looked the other way.

It was Ben Bradlee, then head of Newsweek's Washington Bureau, who — to his credit — alerted Katzenbach to the way FBI officials were peddling salacious King tapes to newsmen in 1964. In his moment of truth, the Atty. Gen. response was "clearly inadequate," concludes the committee.

Hal Gulliver's column will resume shortly.

In fact, he permitted the official wiretapping of Dr. King to go on for four months after receiving the warning of a smear campaign using unofficial "bugs."

When Katzenbach's complicity in the bugging of Dr. King was first suggested in this space a year ago, he exploded with a letter using all the libel code words.

But Church committee counsel confronted him with documentary evidence that he had been informed of

the placement of microphones in Dr. King's suites. Three FBI memos saying so bore Katzenbach's handwritten initials, and there was a handwritten note from him — dated and filed in sequence with a bugging notification — telling Director Hoover "Obviously these are particularly delicate surveillances and we should be very cautious. . . ."

Katzenbach's reaction to this evidence was to insist he couldn't remember what his note was referring to — maybe it was some other surveillance that day. Nor could he remember initialing any of the bugging notifications, but — under oath — he added artfully: "If they are my initials and if I put them on, then I am clearly mistaken. . . ."

The Church committee report on Dr. King (written with admirable evenhandedness by Old Kennedy Hand Michael Epstein) permits the clear conclusion that (a) the wiretapping of Dr. King was originally Robert Kennedy's idea, not J. Edgar Hoover's, and (b) the systematic program of snoop and smear could probably not have taken place without the sometime tacit, sometimes explicit toleration of Nicholas Katzenbach.

2. Ramsey Clark and the Doar Plan to spy on dissidents. Under heat from the Johnson White House to crack down on black power groups and New Left peaceniks, Atty. Gen. Clark told his henchman, John Doar, to come up with a plan to bring the full power of government to bare on gathering intelligence about dissenters.

The Doar Plan — forming the "interdivision information unit," described last year in this column — was submitted, urging that agencies as disparate as the Narcotics Bureau, the poverty program, the IRS and the Post Office Department be tapped to "funnel information" into a computer that a later Clark study said would create a "master index on individuals, or organizations."

Clark, in that moment of truth in 1967, approved the Doar Plan, spawning the infamous IDIU, which — in the Church committee's words — was the focal point of a massive domestic intelligence apparatus . . . resulting in excessive collection of information about law-abiding citizens."

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Editor: Hal Gulliver  
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3. John Mitchell and the Huston Plan. Thanks to the fine work of impeachment counsel John Doar, we have been treated to many lengthy denunciations of this proposal of a young man in the Nixon "White House" to combat dissidents with illegal "black bag jobs," mail openings and evesdroppings. It turns out that in making his scandalous suggestions, Tom Huston was not aware that most of them were already standard operating procedure for intelligence agencies under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

In his moment of truth, in the face of White House pressure urging him to approve the Huston Plan, what did Atty. Gen. Mitchell do? Writes the Church committee: "CIA Director Helms shortly thereafter indicated his support for the plan to the Atty. Gen., telling him 'we had put our backs into this exercise.' Nonetheless, Mitchell advised the President to withdraw his approval. Huston was told to rescind his memorandum . . ."

These three moments are not cited to suggest Attorneys General Katzenbach and Clark were devils and Mitchell was a saint. But they might be remembered in reviewing what each of the trio is doing today:

Katzenbach, making no apology for his role in the King case is taking down \$300,000 per year in pay and benefits as IBM's general counsel. Clark, posing as a civil libertarian, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for senator from the state of New York. Mitchell, acquitted at one political show trial and convicted at another, has seen his career ruined and now faces jail.

Equal justice under law?

# Mr. Kelley's Contrition

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IN SOME COUNTRIES, new regimes cast off old idols by pulling their statues down. The other day FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley made a speech that had about the same effect. In a lecture at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, Mr. Kelley sharply reudiated the "almost superhuman" image of the FBI during J. Edgar Hoover's 48-year reign. The bureau, Mr. Kelley said, became revered as "an invincible force for good against the forces of evil;" Mr. Hoover himself "was considered integrity and efficiency personified." This "unique position," the current director said, made the bureau immune from scrutiny and perpetuated activities which "were clearly wrong and quite indefensible"—and for which Mr. Kelley apologized.

The director's candor and contrition sounded a rare, refreshing note. Unfortunately, its public impact has been somewhat blurred because, in a kind of polyphony, the Senate intelligence committee has been releasing supplemental reports disclosing still more details of past FBI misdeeds. One report documents FBI agents' covert efforts to foment violent confrontations among black nationalist groups. Another study sets out at chilling length Mr. Hoover's bitter vendetta against Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Yet another dimension of that disgusting case has been described by Eugene C. Patterson in a St. Petersburg Times column which we reprint today. This illustrates how Mr. Hoover's lieutenants not only acted along with his amoral attacks on Dr. King, but indulged the director by telling him what they thought he wanted to hear—even if their reports were lies.

In condemning such conduct, Mr. Kelley also reprobated the arrogant, dogmatic attitudes and obsessive

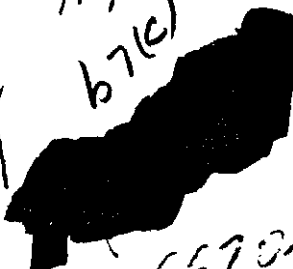
rebuilding that governed the FBI for so long. He attributed much of this to Mr. Hoover's formidable skill and self-perpetuating power, Mr. Kelley noted, rightly, that the bureau's untouchability had been bolstered by friends in Congress and the press. He might have pushed this point further for it is clear by now that many other public officials—including some with far more regard for civil liberties—not only tolerated the FBI's excesses, but sometimes themselves sanctioned activities that clearly overstepped the boundaries of law and propriety, rationalizing their tacit (or perhaps even explicit) approval on grounds of national security.

In acknowledging these human frailties, Mr. Kelley underscored the importance of rebuilding the bureau on solid grounds of law and accountability, rather than the dangerous base of personality. Considerable progress has already been made. Attorney General Edward H. Levi has subjected the bureau to an unprecedented amount of Justice Department oversight, and the new guidelines on domestic intelligence operations—while not a substitute for a new law—represent a substantial gain.

While not welcoming all of this, Mr. Kelley has accepted it in a way that Mr. Hoover never did. At the same time, he has been moving cautiously—too cautiously, many believe—in an attempt to overhaul the bureau without destroying its damaged morale or provoking an all-out battle with the old-timers in its ranks. His Westminster remarks suggest that he has now decided to put more distance between himself and the factions remaining from Mr. Hoover's days. That is encouraging, for the FBI can only regain its proper strength and public respect by recognizing that, like every other human institution, it is fallible.

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# Mrs. King Critical Of FBI Study Plan

ATLANTA (AP) — Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s widow says an investigation of the FBI by its parent agency, the Justice Department, is ridiculous and suggests the inquiry be handled by an "independent commission."

"It is an absurdity to propose, as Atty. Gen. (Edward) Levi has, that grave offenses against the rights of individuals and of the nation, itself, can be dealt with by having the Department of Justice, which includes the FBI, investigate itself," Coretta King said yesterday. "What is needed is a high-level, independent commission empowered and prepared to investigate, make hard judgments and recommendations, including punishments of wrong-doers at any level of involvement."

Mrs. King commented after new disclosures of FBI campaigns against her husband made Wednesday by the Senate intelligence committee. She said she would not comment directly on the report until she reads it.

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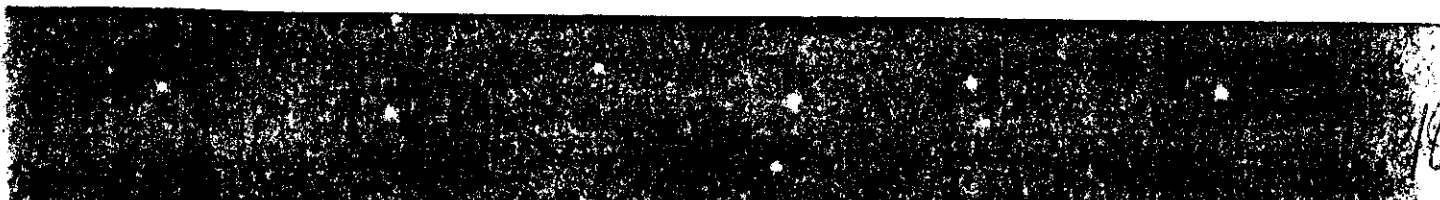
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# F.B.I. MALIGNED DR. KING IN DEATH

## Bureau Also Weighed Plan to Harass His Widow, Senate Study Reports

WASHINGTON, May 5 (UPI)—The Federal Bureau of Investigation tried to smear the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. even after his death, treating him much like a Soviet agent, and had a plan to harass his widow as well, the staff of the Senate Select Committee and Intelligence Activities reported today.

"The F.B.I.'s attempts to discredit Dr. King did not end with his death" by murder in 1968, the staff said in one of a series of final reports on what it calls the agency "secret war" against American citizens.

The staff also said, however, it had found no evidence that the bureau had been involved in Dr. King's murder. A Justice Department group is investigating that matter separately.

But the report, prepared by the intelligence panel's investigative staff and not signed by committee members, said that under J. Edgar Hoover, the F.B.I. pursued a "vicious vendetta" against Dr. King from 1963 until sometime after his death, trying to discredit his memory and to stop Congress from making his birthday a national holiday.

It said that William Sullivan, Mr. Hoover's former deputy, described the overall campaign against Dr. King and thousands of other suspected radicals as "a rough, tough, dirty business and dangerous."

"No holds were barred," Mr. Sullivan testified at committee hearings. "We have used [similar] techniques against Soviet agents. We did not differentiate. This is a rough, tough business."

Repeating conclusions the committee has published before, the report said that Mr. Hoover had considered Dr. King "no good" and a dangerous force for dissent in America.

### Communist Leak Sought

It said he had directed his agents to prove Dr. King was communist-influenced by tapping his telephones, bugging his

hotel rooms and harassing him. One move was the anonymous letter, already publicized, that suggested that Dr. King commit suicide or face disclosure of an extra marital affair.

But today's report also included new disclosures about the smear campaign that followed Dr. King's death.

When Congress was considering declaring his birthday a national holiday, it said, the F.B.I.'s crime records division "recommended briefing Congressmen" who might keep the bill bottled up in committee if "they realize King was a scoundrel."

Congress has yet to vote on the birthday bill.

The report also said the F.B.I. Atlanta field office proposed in April 1969 a "counterintelligence operation" against Dr. King's memory and his widow.

It said it did not know details of the plan or whether it had been carried out, but quoted a bureau memorandum as saying that the program might be used "in the event the bureau is inclined to entertain counterintelligence action against Coretta Scott King and/or the continuous projection of the public image of Martin Luther King."

### Black Panthers Affected

WASHINGTON, May 5 (AP)—F.B.I. headquarters approved more than 2,300 actions in a campaign to disrupt and discredit American organizations ranging from the Black Panthers to Antioch College, according to the report released today on the bureau's Cointelpro program.

The report, by the staff of the Senate intelligence committee, said that many of the actions approved in the 15 years ending in 1971 "may have violated specific criminal statutes," while others "involved risk of serious bodily injury or death to the targets."

Senator Frank Church, chairman of the intelligence committee, coupled release of the report with a renewed call for creation of a Congressional panel to oversee intelligence operations and for a special prosecutor to investigate possible criminal charges against officials involved in intelligence abuses.

The 77-page report outlined Cointelpro, or counter intelligence program, operations against "a staggering range of targets," beginning in 1956 with the Communist Party U.S.A. and ending in 1971 with "students demonstrating against anything."

The bureau's use of "dangerous, degrading or blatantly unconstitutional techniques appears to have become less restrained with each subsequent program," the report said.

Most cointelpro tactics described in the report, such as mailing anonymous letters accusing spouses of infidelity or encouraging warfare between rival groups, have been previously reported.

The report quoted internal Justice Department documents as saying that cointelpro activities may have violated the civil rights laws—as well as Federal laws against mail fraud and extortion.

Although F.B.I. witnesses testified that cointelpro had been intended to protect the national security and prevent violence, the report said, "The unexpressed major premise of much of cointelpro is that the bureau has a role in maintaining the existing social order and combating those who threaten that order."

As an example, the report quoted F.B.I. memos showing that two students who participated in a free-speech demonstration were made cointelpro targets because of their "obvious disregard for decency and established morality."

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## **Justice Says FBI Harassed, But Did Not Kill Dr. King**

In response to inquiries from the news media regarding the Civil Rights Division's review of the Martin Luther King files, Attorney General Edward H. Levi today issued the following statement:

"I have directed the Office of Professional Responsibility, headed by Michael Shaheen, to complete a review of all records in the Department of Justice concerning the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Civil Rights Division, under the personal direction of Assistant Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger, completed on April 9 a five-month preliminary review of files at FBI headquarters.

"As a result of this preliminary review, the Civil Rights Division has recommended that the review be carried forward to completion with an additional examination of records at FBI headquarters and field offices. It is believed that more than 200,000 documents may be involved."

On the basis of this preliminary review, Assistant Attorney General Pottinger stated that his tentative conclusions were (1) there was no basis to believe that the FBI in any way caused the death of Dr. King, (2) no evidence was discovered that the FBI investigation of the assassination of Dr. King was not thorough and honest, and (3) instances were found indicating that the FBI undertook a systematic program of harassment of Dr. King in order to discredit him and harm both him and the movement he led.

Mr. Pottinger pointed out that the Civil Rights Division has been continuously investigating allegations concerning the assassination of Dr. King as these allegations come to the attention of the Department.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

**Weekley Observer  
(Myrtle Beach, S.C.)**

**Page 4**

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Date: 5/6/76

Edition:

Author:

Editor: N/A

Title:

**[Redacted]**  
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Character:

or

Classification: 100-344

Submitting Office: Columbia

Being Investigated

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100-106670  
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FILE  
 100-106670  
 SUB A

54 JUN 18 1976

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# RIGHTS LEADER'S WIFE INCLUDED

## FBI's Plots Against King Told

WASHINGTON (AP) —

One year after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the FBI was still hatching plots to defame the civil rights leader and his widow, a Senate probe shows.

The FBI's Atlanta bureau drafted a plan in April 1969 and forwarded it to headquarters in Washington "in the event the bureau is inclined to entertain counterintelligence action against Coretta Scott King and— or the continuous projection of the public image of Martin Luther King," according to FBI documents cited by the Senate intelligence committee.

THE LATE FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover rejected the plan, saying in a reply memo, "The bureau does not desire counterintelligence action against Coretta King of the nature you suggest at this time."

But Hoover apparently approved an FBI plan to try to convince Congress not to declare King's birthday, Jan. 15, a national holiday. An FBI memo of March 18, 1969, recommended briefing key congressmen to make sure "they realize King was a scoundrel." Hoover and a top aide replied the briefing must be handled "very cautiously."

The Senate panel, which issued a lengthy report last week on U.S. intelligence-gathering agencies, issued a 205-page supplementary report yesterday in what it termed the FBI's "major" and "most serious" violation. The FBI memo called it a

campaign "to completely discredit King as the leader of the Negro people."

THE REPORT does not indicate if the briefing was held. Congress has yet to vote on a bill to establish the holiday honoring King.

The committee first revealed last November in public hearings details of the FBI's secret campaign to harass and discredit King, who was slain in Memphis April 4, 1968.

It apparently began in early 1962, when Hoover wrote on a memo, "King is no good." In October 1962 the FBI began an investigation of alleged Communist influence in King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Senate report said the FBI suspected, but never proved, two King associates once belonged to the Communist party. At no time did the FBI "have any evidence Dr. King himself was a Communist," it added.

HIGH OFFICIALS in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations must share the blame for the FBI's campaign to destroy King, the report said.

Although there was no evidence that anyone outside the FBI approved the smear campaign, it said, "the evidence reveals a disturbing attitude of unconcern by responsible officials and a failure on their part to make appropriate corrective measures."

The report found:

● Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy approved in writing in October 1963 the placing of wiretaps in King's home and offices. Three months later, the first of 15 bugs was installed in King's hotel room without Kennedy's knowledge. But Kennedy got a summary of information from the taps.

● Atty. Gen. Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach and Asst. Atty. Gen. Burke Marshall told President Johnson the FBI had offered to play tape recordings of the bugs to reporters.

● Johnson press secretary Bill Moyers approved sending FBI reports containing derogatory personal information about King to other government agencies.

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| Director's Sec'y | _____ |

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

B-10 PHOENIX GAZETTE  
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Date: 5/6/76  
Edition: EVENING  
Author:  
Editor: ALAN MOYER  
Title: PUBLICITY FBI

Character:  
or  
Classification: 80-307A  
Submitting Office: PHOENIX

Being Investigated

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192 JUN 14 1976

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# High aides tied to Dr. King plot

Associated Press  
 WASHINGTON — High officials in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations must share the blame for the Federal Bureau of Investigation's campaign to destroy Dr. Martin Luther King, a Senate intelligence committee staff report said Wednesday.

It said there was no evidence that anyone outside the FBI approved the campaign against King, but it concluded that officials responsible for supervising the FBI received indications that such an effort . . . might be taking place and failed to take adequate steps to prevent it."

The report said evidence showed that:

— Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was given a summary of information obtained from bugs placed in King's hotel rooms;

— Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach and Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall told President Johnson the FBI had offered to play tape recordings to reporters.

—The FBI offered to

play the tape recordings for Johnson aide Walter Jenkins.

— Johnson aide Bill Moyers approved sending FBI reports containing derogatory personal information about King to other government agencies.

"The evidence reveals a disturbing attitude of unconcern by responsible officials and a failure on their part to make appropriate corrective measures," the report said.

One FBI memo quoted in the report stated that Jenkins had suggested leaking the hotel room tapes to the press. However, the report added that in a sworn interview "Jenkins expressly denied" making such a suggestion.

The 105-page study, which contained few new disclosures concerning the bureau's self-described campaign "to completely discredit King as the leader of the Negro people," was released as a supplementary volume to the intelligence panel's final report made public last week.

A total of 13 supplementary volumes will be released "in order that

the American public may fully know the extent of the crimes" committed by U.S. intelligence agencies, Chairman Frank Church, D-Idaho, said.

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A-15 ARIZONA REPUBLIC  
 PHOENIX, ARIZ.

EX-115

REC-11 100-106670 A-

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JUN 15 1976

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Date: 5/6/76  
 Edition: MORNING  
 Author: *[Handwritten]*  
 Editor: HAROLD K. MILK  
 Title: PUBLICITY FBI

Character: \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Classification: 80-307A  
 Submitting Office: PHOENIX

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56 JUN 30 1976

*File 100-106670*

# JFK, LBJ aides plotted against King, study says

WASHINGTON (AP) — High officials in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations must share the blame for the FBI's campaign to destroy Dr. Martin Luther King, a Senate intelligence committee staff report said yesterday.

It said there was no evidence that anyone outside the FBI approved the campaign against King, but it concluded that "officials responsible for supervising the FBI received indications that such an effort ... might be taking place and failed to take adequate steps to prevent it."

- The report said evidence showed that:
- Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy was given a summary of information obtained from bugs placed in King's hotel rooms;
  - Atty. Gen. Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach and Asst. Atty. Gen. Burke Marshall told President Johnson that the FBI had offered to play tape recordings of the bugs to reporters;
  - The FBI offered to play the tape recordings for Johnson aide Walter Jenkins; and
  - Johnson aide Bill Moyers approved sending FBI reports containing derogatory personal information about King to other government agencies.

"The evidence reveals a disturbing attitude of unconcern by responsible officials and a failure on their part to make appropriate corrective measures," the report said.

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A total of 13 supplementary volumes will be released "in order that the American public may fully know the extent of the crimes" committed by U.S. intelligence agencies, chairman Frank Church (D-Idaho), said.

CHURCH made clear that release of the volumes was intended to bolster the case of senators calling for creation of a new congressional panel to monitor intelligence agencies.

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- 2 THE BOSTON HERALD AMERICAN BOSTON, MASS.
- THE BOSTON GLOBE BOSTON, MASS.
- THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR BOSTON, MASS.

DATE: 5/6/76  
 EDITION: DAILY  
 AUTHOR: not listed  
 EDITOR: S. BORNSTEIN  
 TITLE: JFK, LBJ, aides plotted against KING, study says  
 CHARACTER: or CLASSIFICATION: 80-10  
 Submitting Office: BOSTON

Enclosures:

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The report suggested that the FBI attack against King was motivated both by a suspicion that Communists were serving as advisers to the civil rights leader and by director J. Edgar Hoover's personal feeling that King was "no good."

The staff said, they had found no evidence that any of King's advisers "attempted to exploit the civil rights movement to carry out the plans of the Communist Party."

According to the report, in October, 1963, Atty. Gen. Kennedy approved in writing the installation of wiretaps in King's home and in the New York and Atlanta offices of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in order to determine the extent of "Communist influence in the racial situation."

THREE MONTHS later the first of 15 bugs was installed in King's hotel room without Kennedy's knowledge, according to the report.

The FBI's effort to discredit Dr. King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference "involved plans touching on virtually every aspect of Dr. King's life" and even continued after his death, the report said.

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# FBI's try to use Cody against Dr. King told

By Robert Gruenberg  
Of our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The FBI tried to use John Cardinal Cody of Chicago and Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York to discredit the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., according to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The committee reported Wednesday that in 1964 the FBI sent an agent to try to persuade Cardinal Spellman to warn Pope Paul VI that a planned audience for Dr. King would be "embarrassing."

Cardinal Spellman, however, refused to do the FBI's bidding, and Dr. King in September of that year was granted a 20-minute audience with the Pope, who agreed to make a public declaration against racial injustice.

IN 1966, according to the committee, the FBI sent an agent to try to convince Cardinal Cody to help "neutralize the effect" of Dr. King in Chicago.

The committee reported that Cardinal Cody apparently was briefed "about alleged Communist influence on Dr. King and about Dr. King's private life."

According to the committee, an FBI internal memo states that the agent who briefed the Chicago archbishop came away with the feeling that Cardinal Cody would "do everything possible to neutralize King's effect."

Cardinal Cody is convalescing in Chicago's Columbus Hospital after April 25 gall bladder surgery and couldn't be reached directly for comment, but a spokesman for the archdiocese quoted the cardinal as saying the committee's report is "absolutely untrue."

At the time of the alleged briefing Dr. King was active in the Chicago civil rights movement.

THE APPROACHES to Cardinals Cody and Spellman were part of a six-year campaign by the FBI to destroy the reputation of Dr. King, according to the committee headed by Sen. Frank Church (D-Ida.).

The campaign continued even after Dr. King was assassinated in 1968, the committee said.

A year after the civil rights leader's death, the committee reported, the FBI considered but rejected a proposal by the Atlanta office of the FBI to begin a covert operation against his widow, Coretta Scott King.

The nature of the proposed program against Mrs. King wasn't disclosed to the committee.

But it was to serve "in the event the bureau (FBI) is inclined to entertain counterintelligence action against (her) and/or the continuous projection of the public image" of the slain Negro leader, the Atlanta office said.

J. Edgar Hoover rejected the idea, saying "the bureau does not desire counterintelligence action against Coretta King of the nature you suggest at this time."

THE QUOTATION attributed to the late FBI chief is virtually the only positive statement in his behalf in the 103-page supplementary study issued by the committee Wednesday to accompany its monumental two volumes released last week on the nation's domestic and foreign intelligence operations.

The supplement is the second of 13 such volumes of detail on the committee's schedule.

The volumes are destined to become the reference works for the coming debate in the Senate over establishing an independent intelligence oversight committee — a proposal that already has met with stubborn opposition among some veteran lawmakers.

"I find it hard to understand how anyone can read the detailed accounts of the vendetta (against Dr. King) and not appreciate the need for an independent congressional oversight committee," said Sen. Church.

DURING A nine-hour conference Dec. 23, 1963, in FBI headquarters here, 21 proposals were suggested for discrediting Dr. King, the report said.

These included "using" ministers, "disgruntled" acquaintances, "aggressive" newsmen, "colored" FBI agents, Dr. King's housekeeper and even Dr. King's wife, the report said.

There even was discussion of "placing a good-looking female plant" in Dr. King's office, according to an FBI work paper.

Attempts also were made to have universities withhold honorary degrees, prevent publication of articles favorable to Dr. King and to find news sources "friendly" to the FBI to publish damaging articles, the committee case study said.

The "extreme personal vindictiveness" that marked Hoover's attitude toward Dr. King was recorded as early as 1962 with a statement by the FBI chief that "King is no good," the study found.

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7 CHICAGO DAILY NEWS  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Date: 5-6-76  
 Edition: BLUE STRIP  
 Author: ROBERT GRUENBERG  
 Editor: D. FELDMER  
 Title: CRIME RECORDS  
 Character: 94-1199  
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 Classification:  
 Submitting Office: CHICAGO  
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# FBI Labeled King 'Communist' in '62

By George Lardner Jr.  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The FBI secretly categorized the late Martin Luther King Jr. as a "Communist" months before it ever started investigating him, the staff of the Senate intelligence committee reported yesterday.

Chronicling what it described as the FBI's "vicious vendetta" against King, the 102-page study disclosed that the campaign to discredit him not only continued after his death in 1968 but also included a proposed scheme to harass his widow.

The concerted undercover campaign against the slain civil rights leader was first laid out at a Senate intelligence committee hearing last November, but yesterday's report added stark details.

The Senate investigators, however, shied away from any firm conclusions on the touchy issue of whether the late Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was aware of the FBI's repeated bugging of King's hotel rooms for information about his "private activities."

The staff report said there is no evidence that Kennedy was ever "expressly informed" of the microphones hidden in King's hotel and motel rooms over a two-year period. However, a Dec. 15, 1966, memo from the files of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division pointed out that Kennedy had been furnished in 1964 with a top secret, eight-page summary of

See KING, A24, Col. 1

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- The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_
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- The Los Angeles Times \_\_\_\_\_

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# FBI Labeled King Communist in '62

KING, From A1

the fruits of electronic eavesdropping on King's activities at the Willard Hotel in Washington, the Hilton Hawaiian Village in Honolulu and the Hyatt House Hotel in Los Angeles.

The wording of the top secret report to Kennedy, the 1966 FBI memo stated, was "couched in such a manner that it is obvious that a microphone was the source."

According to the study, the effort to destroy King was "marked by extreme personal vindictiveness," especially on the part of the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. As early as February, 1962, the report showed, Hoover, for reasons that are not entirely clear, jotted down on an FBI memo that crossed his desk the conclusion that "King is no good."

Some three months later, in May, 1962, the FBI included King on a secret list—known as "Section A of the Reserve Index"—of individuals who were to be rounded up and detained in the event of a national emergency.

The bureau did not begin an investigation of alleged Communist influences on King or his Southern Christian Leadership Conference until October, 1962.

The so-called FBI "action memorandum" putting King on the list of potential detainees stated that his name should be "placed in Section A of the Reserve Index and tabbed Communist." According to Senate investigators, the index itself had been known as the "Communist Index" until 1960 when it was renamed and expanded to include "influential" persons deemed likely to "aid subversive elements" in an emergency because of their "subversive associations and ideology."

Others on the list, an earlier Segate committee report showed, included author Norman Mailer as well as "a professor who merely praised the Soviet Union to his class."

The subsequent FBI investigations of King and the Leadership Conference soon escalated into a smear campaign that lasted for years, the staff study showed.

In April, 1969, a year after King's assassination in Memphis, the FBI's Atlanta bureau drafted a plan that it forwarded to Washington "in the event the bureau is inclined to entertain counter intelligence action against Coretta Scott King and/or the continuous projection of the public image of Martin Luther King . . ."

Hoover turned the proposal down in a reply memo stating simply that "the bureau does not desire counterintelligence action against Coretta King of the nature you suggest at this time."

The FBI director, however, apparently was more receptive to an effort to stop Congress from declaring King's birthday a national holiday.

Alerted that members of the House Internal Security Committee might be contacting the bureau for a briefing on King in light of the proposed holiday, the FBI's Crime Records Division recommended such a session because, a March 18, 1969, memo stated, the members of Congress were in a position to keep the bill bottled up if "they realize King was a scoundrel."

Top-ranking Hoover aide Cartha DeLoach, the Senate report said, advised that such a briefing "is a delicate matter but can be handled very cautiously." Hoover, in turn, wrote, "I agree. It must be handled very cautiously."

The report does not indicate whether the briefings were held. Congress has yet to vote on a Martin Luther King birthday bill.

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The report on the FBI's campaign against King is one of 13 staff studies to be released this week and next as a windup of the Senate committee's 15-month investigation of the domestic work of nation's intelligence community.

Chairman Frank Church (D-Idaho) told reporters at a briefing this week that the detailed studies were being published to inform the public of "the extent of the crimes that took place" under the cloak of national security and to encourage Congress to enact reforms.

Renewing his call for an independent special prosecutor to assess all the evidence compiled by the committee in various cases, Church also emphasized his chagrin at the Justice Department's inaction over the past year.

Church acknowledged that prosecution of many incidents might be barred because of the five-year statute of limitations, but he made plain his dissatisfaction

with Attorney General Edward Levi's standard comment that the Justice Department is still "investigating."

"Months ago, we began turning over material to the Justice Department," Church protested. "I am only aware that up to now no indictments have been issued . . . and no criminal proceedings initiated by any agency against anybody."

The FBI's investigation of King and the SCLC began in October, 1962, as a so-called "Cominfil" inquiry. An acronym for Communist infiltration, the label was used to describe investigations of legitimate non-Communist organizations that the FBI believed to be influenced by Communist Party members. The investigations were to determine the extent of alleged Communist influence.

Senate investigators said the inquiry stemmed from allegations that first appeared in an FBI report to Attorney General Kennedy on Jan. 3, 1962, calling one of King's advisers "a member of the Communist Party." Within a few months, the Senate study added, FBI reports were describing another of King's associates as a "member of the National Committee of the Communist Party."

Although the names of both men have been public knowledge for years, the study referred to the two men—Stanley Levison and Jack O'Dell—only as "Advisor A" and "Advisor B" respectively. O'Dell's name was even deleted from footnotes and passages in the report, which cites past congressional public testimony and newspaper headlines.

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The Senate investigators said they were "unable to reach a conclusion concerning the accuracy of the FBI's charges" about the two advisers. The report noted FBI files "do contain information that Adviser A and Adviser B had been members of the Communist Party at some point" before October, 1962, but not afterward.

The report added that the FBI refused to provide the committee with the basis for its charges on the grounds that to do so "would compromise informants of continuing use to the bureau."

At the same time, there was no indication in the report that the Senate committee staff secured the testimony of either Levison or O'Dell in an effort to clarify the issue. Levison a semi-retired New York businessman and civic leader publicly stated in an interview with The Washington Post last December that he was the victim of "guilt by association"—compounded by allegations of an ex-business associate who falsely named other persons as "secret Communists" in order to clear himself.

More recently a top official of the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson's Operation PUSH, O'Dell resigned from the SCLC in July, 1963, because of the furor.

King accepted the resignation reluctantly and stated at the same time in a letter to O'Dell that "we conducted what we felt to be a thorough inquiry into these charges and were unable to discover any present connections with the Communist Party on your part."

The Senate staff report emphasized that "in any event, the FBI has stated that at no time did it have any evidence that Dr. King himself was a Communist or connected with the Communist Party."

Yet instead of pursuing the alleged Communists themselves, the report noted, "the bureau adopted the curious tactic of trying to discredit the supposed target of Communist Party interest—Dr. King himself."

The investigation turned rapidly into a smear campaign after the 1963 March on Washington which established King at the head of the civil rights movement. At a December, 1963, anti-King strategy meeting at FBI headquarters here, high-ranking officials discussed a long list of proposals, including "placing a good looking female plant in Dr. King's office."

Asked if this were a common practice, former FBI Assistant Director William Sullivan, told the committee in hitherto secret testimony that it was. "No holds were barred," he said. "This is a rough, tough business."

Some two weeks after the December strategy session, the first of at least 16 bugs was planted in King's room at the Willard Hotel here, yielding 19 reels of tape.

More than 20 reels more were obtained from King's visits the next month to Honolulu and Los Angeles.

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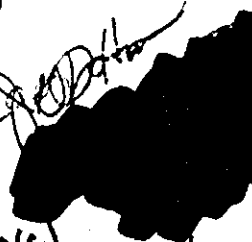
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UP-093

(FBI)

(ADV FOR 6 PM EDT)

(BY DANIEL F. GILMORE)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE FBI TRIED TO SMEAR DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. EVEN AFTER HIS DEATH -- TREATING HIM MUCH LIKE A SOVIET AGENT -- AND HAD A PLAN TO HARASS HIS WIDOW AS WELL, THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE REPORTED WEDNESDAY.

"THE FBI'S ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT DR. KING DID NOT END WITH HIS DEATH" BY ASSASSINATION IN 1968, THE COMMITTEE SAID IN ONE OF A SERIES OF FINAL REPORTS ON WHAT IT CALLS THE FBI'S "SECRET WAR" AGAINST AMERICAN CITIZENS.

THE COMMITTEE ALSO SAID, HOWEVER, IT FOUND NO EVIDENCE THE BUREAU WAS INVOLVED IN KING'S MURDER. A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TASK FORCE IS INVESTIGATING THAT SUBJECT SEPARATELY.

BUT THE REPORT SAID THE FBI UNDER J. EDGAR HOOVER PURSUED A "VICIOUS VENDETTA" AGAINST KING FROM 1963 UNTIL SOME TIME AFTER HIS DEATH, TRYING TO DISCREDIT HIS MEMORY AND TO STOP CONGRESS FROM MAKING HIS BIRTHDAY A NATIONAL HOLIDAY.

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WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

FBI/DOJ

IT SAID WILLIAM SULLIVAN, HOOVER'S FORMER FBI DEPUTY, DESCRIBED THE OVERALL CAMPAIGN AGAINST KING AND THOUSANDS OF OTHER SUSPECTED RADICALS AS "A ROUGH, TOUGH, DIRTY BUSINESS AND DANGEROUS ..."  
"NO HOLDS WERE BARRED," SULLIVAN TESTIFIED AT COMMITTEE HEARINGS. "WE HAVE USED (SIMILAR) TECHNIQUES AGAINST SOVIET AGENTS ... WE DID NOT DIFFERENTIATE. THIS IS A ROUGH, TOUGH BUSINESS."

REPEATING CONCLUSIONS THE COMMITTEE HAS PUBLISHED BEFORE, THE REPORT SAID HOOVER CONSIDERED KING "NO GOOD" AND A DANGEROUS FORCE FOR DISSENT IN AMERICA.

IT SAID HE DIRECTED HIS AGENTS TO PROVE KING WAS COMMUNIST-INFLUENCED BY TAPPING HIS TELEPHONES, BUGGING HIS HOTEL ROOMS AND HARASSING HIM. ONE PLOY WAS THE ANONYMOUS LETTER, ALREADY PUBLICIZED, WHICH SUGGESTED KING COMMIT SUICIDE OR FACE DISCLOSURE OF AN EXTRA-MARITAL AFFAIR.

BUT WEDNESDAY'S REPORT ALSO INCLUDED NEW DISCLOSURES ABOUT THE SMEAR CAMPAIGN THAT FOLLOWED KING'S DEATH. WHEN CONGRESS WAS CONSIDERING DECLARING HIS BIRTHDAY A NATIONAL HOLIDAY, IT SAID, THE FBI'S CRIME RECORDS DIVISION "RECOMMENDED BRIEFING CONGRESSMEN" WHO MIGHT KEEP THE BILL BOTTLED UP IN COMMITTEE IF "THEY REALIZE KING WAS A SCOUNDREL."

CONGRESS HAS YET TO VOTE ON A KING BIRTHDAY BILL. THE REPORT ALSO SAID THE FBI ATLANTA FIELD OFFICE PROPOSED A "COUNTERINTELLIGENCE OPERATION" AGAINST KING'S MEMORY AND HIS WIDOW IN APRIL, 1969.

IT SAID IT DID NOT KNOW DETAILS OF THE PLAN OR WHETHER IT WAS EVER CARRIED OUT, BUT QUOTED AN FBI MEMO AS SAYING THE PROGRAM MIGHT BE USED "IN THE EVENT THE BUREAU IS INCLINED TO ENTERTAIN COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION AGAINST CORETTA SCOTT KING AND/OR THE CONTINUOUS PROJECTION OF THE PUBLIC IMAGE OF MARTIN LUTHER KING."

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... FBI TRIED ... KING DID ... HIS WIDOW ... COMMITTEE ... WEDNESDAY.

"THE FBI'S ... KING DID ... HIS WIDOW ... COMMITTEE ... WEDNESDAY.

THE COMMITTEE ALSO SAID, HOWEVER, IT FOUND NO EVIDENCE THE BUREAU WAS INVOLVED IN KING'S MURDER. A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TASK FORCE IS INVESTIGATING THAT SUBJECT SEPARATELY.

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CORRECTION:

IN FBI (UP-003) IN 1ST PGM READ IT X X X THE STAFF

OF THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE REPORTED WEDNESDAY.

(THE REPORT WAS PREPARED BY THE STAFF AND WAS SIGNED BY CHAIRMAN ...)

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# The FBI and Martin Luther King

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IT IS QUITE CLEAR, as Attorney General Edward H. Levi has recognized, that the questions about the relationships between the FBI and the late Dr. Martin Luther King can be answered only by a full investigation of FBI files across the country. Enough is already known from the files in Washington to raise substantial doubts about the legality of some of the operations the agency mounted against Dr. King. The real question, however, is whether the Department of Justice has sufficiently straightened itself out under Mr. Levi's direction to be able to win public confidence in the integrity of an internal investigation.

We are sympathetic to what Mr. Levi is attempting to do in keeping the investigation internal as distinct from naming a commission of prominent citizens to conduct it. He has taken this opportunity to demonstrate his belief that the department has recovered from its unsavory recent past. He may well be right. But whether he is right in thinking the public can be persuaded to share that belief may depend not only on the quality of the investigation he has ordered

but also on the results it produces. In a perverse way, it seems likely that the more dirt the investigation uncovers, the more confidence it will generate in its own integrity.

Mr. Levi could have chosen a far easier course by asking outsiders to survey the files and run the investigation. And he—or his successor—may still have to do that if the internally generated report even seems to have an unpersuasive ring to it by any reasonable test. The hard fact is that reputations, once lost, are hard to restore. Moreover, Mr. Levi did not have an easy choice; it is worth keeping in mind that the country's experience with commissions named to investigate such situations has been far from satisfactory. A good many people have never accepted the findings of the commission that investigated the assassination of President Kennedy, and there is no assurance that any new inquiry conducted from within the Justice Department or from outside of it will be able to satisfy all those who are troubled about the way the FBI treated Dr. King.

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
*W. F. Bishop*  
*C. A. ...*  
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- Washington Star-News \_\_\_\_\_
- Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_
- The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_
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# Levi Orders F.B.I. Files on Dr. King Reviewed in a Broadening of Inquiry

By JOHN M. CREWDSON  
Special to The New York Times  
 WASHINGTON, April 29— Attorney General Edward H. Levi has ordered an internal Justice Department review of some 2,500 files compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. both before and after his assassination in 1968.

In a statement released today, Mr. Levi said that his order for an expanded investigation issued last Monday, had been based on a recommendation from lawyers in the department's civil rights division who have spent the last five months studying both the King assassination and the F.B.I.'s campaign to harass and discredit him in the six years before his death.

The initial finding conveyed to Mr. Levi by J. Stanley Pottinger, head of the civil rights division, was that no evidence had been found to suggest either that the F.B.I.'s harassment program contributed to the civil rights leader's death or that the bureau's investigation of his murder was less than thorough.

Mr. Pottinger said at a news conference later that he believed it was "possible" that evidence to contradict this finding might turn up in the 2,500 files, believed to contain more than 200,000 documents, in

F.B.I. field offices around the country.

### Interviews With Agents

The expanded investigation, which will be conducted by the Justice Department's new office of professional responsibility, will also include interviews with present and former agents involved in the harassment campaign of the assassination investigation, a department spokesman said.

Mr. Pottinger's conclusions were based only on an examination of the 96-volume central, or "core" file, here, summarizing the bureau's investigation that led to the arrest of James Earl Ray, who pleaded guilty to Dr. King's murder but has since attempted to renounce that plea.

The core file also contained some details of what Mr. Levi termed "a systematic program of harassment of Dr. King in order to discredit him and harm both him and the movement he led."

The Attorney General said he had ordered that the new, broader investigation provide conclusive answers to the questions addressed by Mr. Pottinger and furnish him with any evidence there might be that "the nature of the relationship between the bureau and Dr. King calls for criminal prosecutions, disciplinary proceedings, or other appropriate action" by the Justice Department.

Mr. Levi ordered the Pottinger inquiry last fall, after dis-

closures by the Senate intelligence committee that the F.B.I. bugged Dr. King's hotel rooms, sent tape recordings of his sexual activities to his wife, Coretta, mailed him an anonymous note that he interpreted as a suggestion that he commit suicide and sought to replace him as head of the civil rights movement with a black leader of the bureau's own choosing.

Mr. Pottinger's report to Mr. Levi containing the recommendation for an expanded inquiry reportedly also suggested that the Attorney General appoint an independent commission of prominent American citizens to review the full F.B.I. record, along the lines of the commission, under the late Chief Justice Earl Warren, that investigated the Assassination of President Kennedy.

No explanation of why Mr. Levi chose to keep the King investigation inside the Justice Department was immediately forthcoming, however.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, who succeeded Dr. King as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said in Atlanta today that he continued to lack faith in the bureau's investigation of Dr. King's death.

Mr. Abernathy said he would "not be satisfied" until President Ford assigned the task of producing a final verdict on Dr. King's death to "a special committee of distinguished American citizens who owe no allegiance to anyone except to

their country and to justice and to truth."

### Lawyer Sees 'Cover Up'

MEMPHIS, Tenn., April 29 (PI)—A lawyer for James Earl Ray, convicted slayer of Dr. King, said today that the investigation by the Justice Department was merely "another coverup."

Robert N. Livingston said that neither he nor his client, who is serving a 99-year sentence at the Tennessee State Prison in Nashville, expected anything from the five-month inquiry of the slaying of the civil rights leader.

Mr. Livingston said, "I don't think the truth will ever be known until the investigation is put into the hands of a body completely disassociated with the Department of Justice."

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# Levi Rejects Proposal for Outside Study of King Slaying

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writers

Attorney General Edward H. Levi yesterday rejected a recommendation from his civil rights chief that a committee from outside the government study the 1968 assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Instead, Levi directed the Justice Department's new Office of Professional Responsibility to take over and complete the review of the King case that had been started by J. Stanley Pottinger, assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division.

Levi's action was seen as an effort to demonstrate that the department itself, still smarting from allegations of aiding the Watergate cover-up, can in-

vestigate one of its units thoroughly and impartially.

Following a five-month preliminary investigation, Pottinger on April 9 reported to Levi that he had found no evidence of FBI involvement in the killing of the black civil rights leader.

However, Pottinger recommended that the review be completed by an independent panel recruited from outside the government. He reportedly argued that an independent inquiry was necessary to resolve the questions of credibility still surrounding the April 4, 1968, shooting of King in Memphis.

Suspicious have been raised about the initial FBI probe of the murder because of recent revelations that the bureau wiretapped and harassed King.

There also have been questions about whether the motives and activities of the convicted assassin, James Earl Ray, have been fully explained.

But in his announcement yesterday, Levi did not mention Pottinger's recommendation for an independent inquiry. Justice Department officials, including Pottinger, refused to discuss why the recommendation had been turned down.

Privately, though, Justice sources said that Levi had acted from a conviction that the Justice Department, and its subsidiary agencies like the FBI, must demonstrate that they are capable of policing themselves effectively.

The sources said Levi was particularly concerned that initiating an independent probe of the King case might

undermine the authority of the Office of Professional Responsibility. It was created by him to function within the Justice Department as an inspector general's office, pursuing allegations of wrongdoing by department officials.

Levi's decision was consistent with the position he took recently when the Justice Department rejected as inadequate an internal FBI investigation of alleged financial irregularities within the bureau. Although some Justice officials argued for an outside inquiry, Levi instead bucked the matter back to the FBI with orders that it carry out a new probe that would be above suspicion.

However, his decision to keep the King probe under Justice Department control raised the possibility of criticism from civil rights leaders. And in Atlanta, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who succeeded King as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, issued a statement yesterday demanding "a special committee of distinguished American citizens who owe no allegiance to anyone except to their country and to justice and to truth."

Levi's announcement said Pottinger had reached the "tentative conclusions" that the FBI had engaged in a campaign to discredit King. However, he found no evidence indicating FBI complicity in King's murder or lack of thoroughness and honesty in the subsequent FBI investigation.

The Attorney General's instructions to the Office of Professional Responsibility ordered it to pursue these ques-

tions and also determine "whether the nature of the relationship between the bureau and Dr. King calls for criminal prosecutions, disciplinary proceedings or other appropriate action."

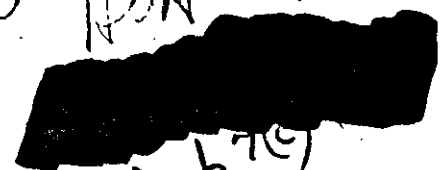
Pottinger told reporters that his investigation had involved a review of approximately 3,500 documents held by Justice and the FBI. However, he added that an estimated 200,000 documents relating to the King case are scattered in various FBI offices and must still be examined.

In addition, Pottinger said, the continuing review is likely to involve the scrutiny of outside documents and statements and even the hearing of testimony from witnesses. He estimated that the review will take several months.

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UP-100

(KING-HOOVER)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- "IF THE WALLS COULD TALK I THINK THEY WOULD SCREAM OR CRY," THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL SAID AS HE DISCUSSED THE FBI'S NIGHT-NEAL CAMPAIGN OF HARASSING DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL J. STANLEY POTTSINGER WAS TAKEN OVER THE FORMER CHIEF OF FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER, WHO CONSIDERED KING TO BE THE "MOST DANGEROUS AND SUBVERSIVE LEADER IN OUR COUNTRY". POTTSINGER HELD A NEWS CONFERENCE ON KING'S ASSASSINATION AND THE FBI HARASSMENT IN A BIG ROOM ACROSS A HALL, IN A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WING THE FBI VACATED WHEN IT MOVED INTO ITS OWN NEW BUILDING LAST YEAR.

A REPORTER INTERRUPTED HIS DISCUSSION OF HOOVER AND KING TO POINT OUT THE BITE WAS NEAR THE OFFICE HOOVER OCCUPIED UNTIL HIS DEATH ON MAY 7, 1972.

"IF THE WALLS COULD TALK I THINK THEY WOULD SCREAM OR CRY," POTTSINGER SAID.

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(KING-HOOVER)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- "IF THE WALLS COULD TALK I THINK THEY WOULD SCREAM OR CRY," THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL SAID AS HE DISCUSSED THE FBI'S EIGHT-YEAR CAMPAIGN OF HARASSING DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

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"IF THE WALLS COULD TALK I THINK THEY WOULD SCREAM OR CRY," POTTINGER SAID.

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AM-KING-HOOVER 4-29  
 WASHINGTON (UPI) -- "IF THE WALLS COULD TALK I THINK THEY WOULD SCREAM OR CRY." THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL SAID AS HE DISCUSSED THE FBI'S EIGHT-YEAR CAMPAIGN OF HARASSING DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL J. STANLEY POTTINGER HAS TAKEN OVER THE FORMER OFFICE OF FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER, WHO CONSIDERED KING TO BE THE "MOST DANGEROUS AND EFFECTIVE LEADER IN OUR COUNTRY." POTTINGER HELD A NEWS CONFERENCE ON KING'S ASSASSINATION AND THE FBI HARASSMENT IN A BIG ROOM ACROSS A HALL, IN A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WING THE FBI VACATED WHEN IT MOVED INTO ITS OWN NEW BUILDING LAST YEAR.

A REPORTER INTERRUPTED HIS DISCUSSION OF HOOVER AND KING TO POINT OUT THE SITE WAS NEAR THE OFFICE HOOVER OCCUPIED UNTIL HIS DEATH ON MAY 2, 1972.

"IF THE WALLS COULD TALK I THINK THEY WOULD SCREAM OR CRY." POTTINGER SAID.

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# Levi: Continue Review of King Case

By Jerry Oppenheimer  
Washington Star Staff Writer

Atty. Gen. Edward H. Levi has formed a task force within the Justice Department to continue a review of FBI files to determine whether the bureau properly investigated the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., or had any involvement in his death.

Levi called for the expanded inquiry after receiving finds of a five-month civil rights division review of some 3,500 FBI files on King that "tentatively" exonerated the bureau of any links to the black civil rights leader's slaying in April 1968.

The review also tentatively found the FBI's probe of the assassination to be "honest and thorough." But, it showed evidence that the FBI undertook a "systematic program" of harassment against King in order to discredit him and the movement he led.

IN DISCUSSING today's announcement of Levi's decision, Asst. Atty. Gen. J. Stanley Pottinger said "it is possible" that the task force review could reach different findings than the inquiry he headed "or I wouldn't have recommended that they go forward. This further investigation may indeed turn up something."

Informed sources have said that Pottinger recommended to Levi that a blue ribbon panel of private and public citizens conduct the investigation, but Pottinger declined to discuss the internal memorandum sent by him to the attorney general. He said he supported Levi's recommendations and declared that "the Justice Department is honest enough to investigate properly and thoroughly."

The expanded review, which will include the questioning of witnesses, will be carried out by the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility, which handle internal

investigation. Pottinger indicated that about six lawyers will be assigned to the King task force.

Levi directed that the investigation be completed as soon as possible and that the results be furnished to him and FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley. Pottinger estimated that it would take "months" for the task force to review some 200,000 files on King that are stored at FBI headquarters and at FBI field offices around the country.

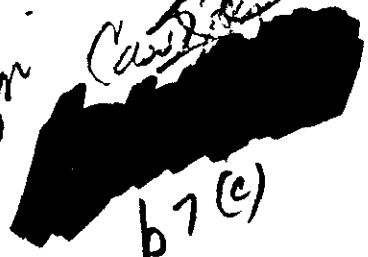
POTTINGER, in response to a question, indicated that there were nine FBI officials who designed, approved and directed the harassment campaign of King but he said that they were either "all dead or retired" and declined to identify them.

"There may be others in the chain we may not have identified," he added, "and the task force will try to track them." He said there may be lower level FBI officials still in the bureau who were involved in the King harassment campaign.

While the five-year statute of limitations rules out prosecutions on any wrongdoing found by the task force, the statute has no effect on any conspiracy to cover up the harassment campaign.

Pottinger said that the records reviewed showed that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover did not see the activities of the FBI against King as an "harassment campaign. He wanted it to be effective." But Pottinger declined to discuss details of the harassment activities that were uncovered in the FBI documents.

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UP-045

(KING ASSASSINATION)

(BY ED ROSEN)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TODAY SAID A FIVE-MONTH INVESTIGATION HAS TENTATIVELY CONCLUDED THAT THE "BLACK PANTHER PARTY" IS NOT INVOLVED IN THE ASSASSINATION OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

ATTORNEY GENERAL EDWARD LEVI ANNOUNCED THE RESULTS OF A LONG-TERM REVIEW OF THE FBI'S INVESTIGATION OF KING'S DEATH IN 1968 AND OF THE FBI'S "RELATIONS" WITH KING PRIOR TO HIS DEATH.

LEVI SAID, HOWEVER, THAT THE INVESTIGATION WOULD CONTINUE WITH THE REVIEW OF DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS AT FBI HEADQUARTERS AND FIELD OFFICES.

LEVI LISTED SEVERAL "TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS" WHICH WERE REACHED BY ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL J. BRADLEY ROSENBERG, HEAD OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION, IN HIS Ongoing PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION WITH THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S CRIMINAL DIVISION.

-- "THERE ARE NO FACTS TO BELIEVE THAT THE FBI IN ANY WAY CAUSED THE DEATH OF DR. KING."

-- "NO EVIDENCE WAS DISCOVERED THAT THE FBI INVESTIGATION OF THE ASSASSINATION OF DR. KING WAS NOT THOROUGH AND HONEST."

-- "INSTALLERS WERE FOUND INDICATING THAT THE FBI UNDERTOOK A SYSTEMATIC PROGRAM OF HARASSMENT OF DR. KING IN ORDER TO DISCREDIT HIM AND HARM BOTH HIM AND THE MOVEMENT HE LED."

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UP-003

UP-003 KING ASSASSINATION, WASHINGTON (UP-045)  
 DISCLOSURE BY THE FBI LAST FALL THAT THE FBI  
 HAD BEEN WORKING WITH A GROUP OF INVESTIGATORS  
 WHO SPECULATED THAT THE FBI HAD HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE  
 ASSASSINATION.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS LAST FALL CALLED ON PRESIDENT FORD TO  
 INVESTIGATE THIS ASPECT OF THE CASE.

LEVI SAID THE CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION RECOMMENDED THAT "THE REVIEW  
 BE CARRIED FORWARD TO COMPLETION WITH AN ADDITIONAL EXAMINATION OF  
 RECORDS AT FBI HEADQUARTERS AND FIELD OFFICES."

"IT IS BELIEVED THAT MORE THAN 200,000 DOCUMENTS MAY BE INVOLVED,"  
 LEVI SAID.

"I DIRECTED THAT THE INVESTIGATION BE COMPLETED SOONEST AND THAT  
 ANSWERS TO YOUR SPECIFIC QUESTIONS BE FURNISHED TO YOU AND THE  
 DIRECTOR CLARENCE M. KELLEY ON THE BASIS OF THE REVIEW OF ALL  
 DOCUMENTS," LEVI SAID.

THE OUTCOME OF THE ADDITIONAL REVIEW WILL BE WHETHER THE FBI  
 INVESTIGATION OF THE ASSASSINATION WAS "THOROUGH AND HONEST" AND  
 WHETHER "THERE IS ANY EVIDENCE THAT THE FBI WAS INVOLVED IN THE  
 ASSASSINATION."

LEVI SAID, AND "WHETHER, IN LIGHT OF THE FIRST  
 TWO MATTERS, THERE IS ANY 'EVIDENCE' ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION THAT  
 HAS COME TO THE FBI'S ATTENTION AND WHETHER THE NATURE OF THE  
 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BUREAU AND DR. KING CALLS FOR CRIMINAL  
 PROSECUTION, DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS OR OTHER APPROPRIATE ACTION."

LEVI SAID THE INVESTIGATION WAS TOUCHED OFF BY DISCLOSURES IN TESTIMONY  
 BEFORE THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE LAST FALL THAT THE DIRECTOR  
 J. EDGAR HOOVER, BEFORE HIS DEATH, HAD SUPPORTED KING TO YEARS OF  
 HIS LIFE.

"WHEN I FIRST HEARD THAT KING HAD COME OUT I ASKED THAT IT BE  
 REVIEWED TO SEE IF ANY OF IT WAS TRUE. IN LIGHT OF THE INVESTIGATION  
 OF THE ASSASSINATION," LEVI SAID IN A NEWS CONFERENCE LAST DEC. 3.  
 THE NEWS SHOWED KING HAD BEEN LINKED TO "BLACK PANTHER PARTY" AND  
 ATTACHED TO KING HAD TO BE A "BLACK PANTHER PARTY" CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER, SUCH  
 HOOVER COMPLETED TO BE THE "MOST DANGEROUS AND EFFECTIVE LEADER IN  
 OUR COUNTRY."

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UP-056

ADD 2 KING ASSASSINATION, WASHINGTON  
 POTTINGER, WHO RECOMMENDED TO LEVI THAT THE INVESTIGATION BE  
 RENEWED ON A BROADER BASIS, SAID HE WOULD NOT HAVE DONE SO IF HE DID  
 NOT THINK IT POSSIBLE THAT SOME NEW EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE  
 ASSASSINATION MIGHT TURN UP.

THE INVESTIGATION IS BEING TURNED OVER TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S  
 OFFICE OF PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, A NEWLY CREATED INTERNAL  
 INVESTIGATING TEAM OF SIX LAWYERS.

"IT IS POSSIBLE THEY WILL FIND IT," POTTINGER TOLD REPORTERS IN A  
 NEWS CONFERENCE. "IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY WILL FIND NEW EVIDENCE. IF  
 IT WEREN'T POSSIBLE I WOULD NOT RECOMMEND THAT THEY GO AHEAD. I DO  
 NOT BELIEVE, QUITE FRANKLY, IN COSMETIC EXERCISES. I THINK THEY ARE  
 PHONY, DISHONEST."

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(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# The FBI under fire

## For the defense . . .

### Clarence Kelley

When I really get down in the dumps, I revive myself quickly by reasoning that "Things could be worse. I could be Clarence Kelley, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Kelley's job as successor to the late

of Americans hold for the organization that once was sacrosanct.

The irony is that he was police chief in Kansas City when the bureau's image went into a dramatic decline. But today, he walks a tightrope between what the FBI is today and what it was under the iron-fisted, tyrannical direction of Hoover.

It is Kelley's job of apologizing for what the FBI did to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other Americans haunted and harassed by agents under orders from Hoover.



Claude Lewis

"We're trying to get people to think of the job we're doing today," Kelley said in the studios of WHYI-TV where he had just completed a half-hour show called "Black Perspective on the News."

Without mentioning his name, Kelley said he disagreed with the former FBI chief's assessment of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

"I was not with the bureau but if Dr. King had come to Kansas City when I was police chief, I would have welcomed him."

Asked if he would have bugged Dr. King's hotel rooms or tapped his telephone, Kelley offered an emphatic and almost indignant, "no!"

J. Edgar Hoover has to be one of the toughest in the nation. Every week, it seems, a fistful of new revelations come out about past FBI intrusions and abuses of the basic laws of this nation.



Of necessity, Kelley has turned himself into a kind of top-level public relations man. He has enough insight and intelligence to know that for the next five or ten years, the success or failure of the FBI will largely depend on how the bureau is regarded by the public.

He claims that some 80 percent of the U.S. population supports the FBI, but at the same time, he seems a man in perpetual pain, in trying to regain the lost confidence and respect of the bureau.

While Kelley didn't supervise the abuses, his job, in large measure, is one of restoring national confidence in the organization that is closest to a national police force. His task is often one of defending the bureau against the anger and suspicion that millions

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Page 27  
The Evening Bulletin  
Phila., Pa.

Date: 4/9/76  
Edition:  
Author:  
Editor: WM. L. McLEAN  
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# Opinion & Review

"It will take time," he said wearily. He insists there is no evidence that would implicate the FBI in the death of Dr. King.

If J. Edgar Hoover was a tyrant, Kelley is a gentleman possessing a firmness that does not necessarily threaten. He is forthright, reasonable, and not above saying "I don't have all the information on that case," if the situation warrants such an answer.

When I asked him what his response would be if he or the bureau were forced into high-level politics, he said that such a situation has not come up since he became director three years ago, but if that situation arose, he would resign rather than be a part of political activity.

What is most surprising about Kelley is that he does make public appearances and that he has opinions that he is willing to share with the

press and the public. Hoover, for years, told us nothing except on rare occasions when he found it politically expedient to blast some individual or organization.

While Donald Moore Jr., assistant director of the FBI, never conceded the bureau was on the reops, he did say the organization is "making a comeback, and thanks largely to the director."

On several occasions as we prepared for the taping, Kelley kidded with Newsday's Les Payne, The New York Times' Roger Wilkins, Black Perspective's Reginal Bryant and myself. The man has a sense of humor and a warmth that is somewhat reassuring.

I can't think of many Americans who would not be an improvement on Hoover. But Kelley's accessibility and resolve to control and clean up illicit practices by the FBI are commendable. At times he reaches a little far to defend some past practices by his agents, but by and large, I'm impressed by his belief in the law and his

determination to rebuild confidence in the bureau.

Roger Wilkins suggested that one way the FBI might build a better alliance with the black community would be for Kelley to publicly apologize to the King family for the mistreatment of the slain civil rights leader by several agents of the FBI.

Kelley stopped for a moment, thought about it and replied: "I think that family probably doesn't want anymore publicity, but you know that's not a bad idea."

If Wilkins' idea had ever reached Hoover's ears, he would either have laughed aloud or added the suggestion to Wilkins' dossier. At least Kelley said he'd consider it.

If there's one thing a man on a tightrope needs, it's balance. Kelley appears to understand this.

Claude Lewis' opinion column also appears on Sunday and Wednesday.



**FBI CHIEF KELLEY: Man on a tightrope**

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# Black war feared by FBI in '68

Washington Star

WASHINGTON — J. Edgar Hoover ordered the Federal Bureau of Investigation to intensify its counterintelligence operations against black nationalist groups in 1968 because he feared a coalition "might be the first step toward a real 'Mau Mau' in America, the beginning of a true black revolution."

In newly released FBI documents Hoover also ordered agents to prevent the "rise of a 'messiah' who could unify and electrify the black nationalist movement." Among the targeted groups was Dr. Martin Luther King's nonviolent Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Hoover wrote a memorandum urging action to prevent the rise of a black messiah on March 4, 1968, just a month before King was assassinated in Memphis.

In releasing 59 pages of documents on so-called Cointelpro operations against "black nationalist hate groups," the FBI made a number of deletions, including the names of individuals Hoover thought might aspire to become a black messiah.

At one point he wrote, "(Deleted) could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed obedience to 'white, liberal doctrines (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. (Deleted) has

the necessary charisma to be a real threat in his way."

Hoover called on agents to prevent "so-called black nationalist groups from gaining respectability." He ordered the FBI to discredit these groups and their leaders among both blacks and white liberals.

The FBI's Cointelpro operations against these groups were begun in August 1967. Hoover ordered the program halted in April 1971, except in "exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence is warranted."

A recently completed Justice Department investigation reportedly found no links between Dr. King's assassination and the FBI and concluded that the bureau handled the probe of Dr. King's death "thoroughly and efficiently."

However, justice officials may recommend this week to Attorney General Edward H. Levi that a blue ribbon panel take another look at the FBI's activities.

In a related action Monday, Levi announced the formation of a unit to assist him in discharging the responsibilities placed upon the Justice Department by new FBI guidelines. The guidelines, which cover domestic security investigations, were written in part to ensure that activities such as Cointelpro can never again be resumed by the FBI.

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A-8 ARIZONA REPUBLICAN PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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Date: 4/7/76  
 Edition: MORNING  
 Author:

Editor: HAROLD K. MITCHELL  
 Title: PUBLICITY FBI

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BY KATHERINE G. NASHVILLE, TENN. (UPI) - JAMES EARL RAY FLASHED A TRACE OF A SMILE WHEN HE WAS ASKED THE QUESTION THROUGH THE BARS OF A DARK CELL. BARELY LARGE ENOUGH TO HOLD HIS SLENDER FRAME.

WHY WAS HE WILLING TO RISK THE ELECTRIC CHAIR IN A NEW TRIAL, RATHER THAN HOPE FOR AN EARLY PAROLE?

"YOU'VE NEVER BEEN IN PRISON, HAVE YOU?" REPLIED THE MAN SERVING A 99-YEAR PRISON SENTENCE FOR THE 1958 SHIPPER SLAYING OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

IF RAY MERELY SERVES OUT HIS TERM, HE WILL BE ELIGIBLE FOR PAROLE 22 YEARS FROM NOW. HIS SENTENCE OFFICIALLY IS SCHEDULED TO END APRIL 20, 2019.

RAY RECEIVES NO SPECIAL TREATMENT IN TENNESSEE STATE PENITENTIARY. HE SPENDS HIS DAYS WORKING IN THE LAUNDRY OR LYING SILENTLY IN HIS PENNY CELL WITH HIS FACE TOWARD THE WALL.

ACCORDING TO MEMPHIS ATTORNEY ROBERT LIVINGSTON, RAY MAY BE THE TARGET OF VIOLENCE FROM OTHERS SECRETLY RESPONSIBLE FOR KING'S ASSASSINATION.

"I THINK HE'S IN SOME DANGER," LIVINGSTON SAID RECENTLY. "RAY SPOKE UP (ABOUT A CONSPIRACY) IN 1969, BUT THEY ALL CHOSE TO IGNORE HIM."

KING WAS SHOT BY A SHIPPER AS HE STOOD ON THE BALCONY OF A MEMPHIS HOTEL, EIGHT YEARS AGO. RAY ORIGINALLY PLEADED GUILTY TO THE CRIME WITH THE UNDERSTANDING HE WOULD ESCAPE THE ELECTRIC CHAIR BY DOING SO.

NOW HE CLAIMS LAWYER PERCY FOREMAN COERCED HIM INTO THE PLEA AND THAT HE DID NOT PULL THE TRIGGER ON THE RIFLE SAID TO HAVE BEEN THE MURDER WEAPON.

RAY CONSISTENTLY HAS REFUSED TO TALK WITH REPORTERS, BUT ONE RECORD DAY HE RELUCTANTLY INTERRUPTED A MAP TO DISCUSS AN UPCOMING RULING BY CINCINNATI'S 6TH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS THAT COULD ALLOW HIM TO STAND TRIAL.

"THE RULING MAY COME IN FIVE WEEKS OR SO," THE SOFTSPOKEN, SANDY-HAIRED RAY SAID AS HE PEERED THROUGH THE BARS. SMILING IN GOOD HUMOR, AND PHYSICAL, SHARP AND LOOKING YOUNGER THAN HIS 43 YEARS, HE APOLOGETICALLY REFUSED TO DISCUSS HIS CONTINUATION. HE HAS "SET UP" BY ONE OR MORE CONSPIRATORS TO TAKE THE BLAME FOR KING'S DEATH.

"I THINK IT WILL ALL COME OUT IN COURT," HE SAID. "ANYTHING I SAY HERE NOW WON'T MAKE ANY DIFFERENCE BECAUSE IT WILL BE DECIDED IN COURT, AND IT SEEMS TO ME IT SHOULD BE DECIDED IN COURT."

"I DON'T WANT TO BE TRIED IN THE PRESS."

LIVINGSTON SAYS RAY REFUSES TO ADMIT HIS LIFE IS IN DANGER. HE ALSO SAYS IT MAY BE THE UNDERLYING REASON FOR HIS CLIENT'S SEALED LIPS.

"OF COURSE HE ISN'T GOING AROUND NAMING ADDRESSES AND TELEPHONE NUMBERS (OF CONSPIRATORS)," THE ATTORNEY SAID. "LET'S JUST SAY HE CARES NOT TO DIE."

LIVINGSTON INSISTS HIS CLIENT HAS A CHANCE OF ACQUITTAL IF FEDERAL JUDGES WILL GRANT HIM A TRIAL.

"IF HE COMES TO TRIAL, THE BURDEN WILL BE ON THE STATE OF TENNESSEE TO PRODUCE EVIDENCE TO PROVE HIM GUILTY," HE SAID. "THEIR EVIDENCE IS CIRCUMSTANTIAL AT BEST AND I THINK WE CAN PUNCH HOLES IN IT."

RAY, WHO HAS SAID HE HAS HEARING AGAINST KING AND HAD NEVER SEEN HIM, ADMITTED THE RIFLE WAS HIS, BUT HE SAID HE WAS NOT NEAR THE HOTEL WHEN THE SHOT WAS FIRED AND HEARD OF THE MURDER ONLY AS HE DROVE TOWARD MISSISSIPPI.

HE SAID HE PANICKED WHEN HE HEARD HE WAS WANTED FOR MURDER AND BEGAN A FLIGHT WHICH ENDED IN HIS ARREST IN ENGLAND ON JUNE 8, 1968. UPI 04-05 01:20 AM

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WASHINGTON (UPI) -- ATTORNEY GENERAL EDWARD H. LEVI IS AWAITING A REPORT THAT COULD PROMPT HIM TO REOPEN THE INVESTIGATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING'S ASSASSINATION, A JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN SAID

LEVI ORDERED HIS CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION LAST NOVEMBER TO REVIEW THE FBI'S INVESTIGATION OF KING'S DEATH IN A MEMPHIS, TENN., HOTEL APRIL 4, 1968. SPOKESMAN JOHN WILSON SAID THE REPORT IS ALMOST READY FOR LEVI'S REVIEW.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL J. STANLEY POTTINGER, HEAD OF THE DIVISION, IS AWAITING REPORTS BEFORE HE IS READY TO GIVE LEVI HIS RECOMMENDATION, WILSON SAID. THERE HAS BEEN NO HINT OF WHETHER POTTINGER WILL RECOMMEND A FULL INQUIRY.

LEVI MADE IT CLEAR IN A DISCUSSION WITH NEWS REPORTERS LAST DECEMBER THAT HE WAS KEEPING HIS OPTIONS OPEN UNTIL AFTER HE SEES POTTINGER'S APPRAISAL OF THE FBI INVESTIGATION.

THE FBI HAS BEEN CREDITED WITH TRACKING DOWN JAMES EARL RAY AS THE KILLER. RAY PLEADED GUILTY TO A STATE MURDER CHARGE AND IS SERVING A LIFE SENTENCE.

"OBVIOUSLY," LEVI SAID, "IF IT WAS A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION AND THERE IS NOTHING NEW, THERE MIGHT BE ONE ANSWER. IF THAT IS NOT THE CASE WE MIGHT HAVE ANOTHER."

LEVI ASKED POTTINGER ALSO TO CHECK INTO THE "RELATIONSHIP" BETWEEN THE FBI AND KING BEFORE THE ASSASSINATION. THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE LAST YEAR HEARD EVIDENCE THE FBI HAD HARASSED KING FOR YEARS BECAUSE THE LATE J. EDGAR HOOVER REGARDED THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER AS "DANGEROUS."

LEVI TOLD REPORTERS HE WANTED TO SEE IF THE HARASSMENT "CAST ANY NEW LIGHT ON THE (FBI'S) INVESTIGATION OF THE ASSASSINATION."

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